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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[47] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except 583 591 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust- 602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has • 606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[47] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. [608] She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.